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# Phonetic Features and Genetic Position of Cosao

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# **Phonetic Features and Genetic Position of Cosao**

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## I. Cosao Ethnic People and Their Language

The Cosao ethnic people, with a population of 149 persons, live in a village in Mengla County, Xishuangbanna Dai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China, roughly at longitude 101°34' E and latitude 21°37'N. The local Government classified them into the Hani nationality in 2004 due to linguistic and cultural similarities. However Cosao language has not been well described previously. Thus the Cosao ethnic people, their language and culture is neither known by linguists, nor by the outside world.

The term Cosao tsho<sup>55</sup>so<sup>55</sup> or tsho<sup>55</sup>so<sup>55</sup>tsho<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>31</sup>, meaning “happy people on the rich land”, used in this paper comes from their own proclamation. However the local government, the Chinese and the Dai people call them phe<sup>31</sup>ko<sup>31</sup>zen<sup>31</sup>, literally meaning “horizontally horned people”, due to the shapes of women’s headdresses. Nowadays the Cosao people have also accepted this nickname. According to their oral stories, they constantly mention a historical place name la<sup>55</sup>sa<sup>33</sup>, where their ancestors migrated from. Later on, they moved back and forth in the jungles of the Mekong River region. In the long past they have had contact with Dai, Hani and Chinese people. Before the early 1940s they moved back and forth in the borders of China and Laos, and then they settled down in their current village in Mengla County of Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture. The first families who initiated the village are surnamed TAO, later on the families surnamed XIU, ZHAO, HU and LI moved into the village. In the last few decades, some Chinese Han from Hunan, Sichuan, Guangxi and also Hani, Yi, Yao, Dai and Khmu ethnic people have moved into the village due to inter-marriage. In Laos there are two Cosao hamlets, with around 400 people, who are their closest kin-clan, using the same language.

The Cosao village is a multi-lingual community with more and more non-Cosao speaking members joining the village. Therefore for some families, Cosao adults speak Cosao and Southwest Chinese Mandarin in the families’ domain, while for some families they speak Cosao, Southwest Chinese Mandarin, Hani, Yao or Yi. But for others, they speak more Southwest Chinese Mandarin only in the families and in the village. Most Cosao adults use Southwest Chinese Mandarin, as the regional lingua franca, and some use Dai to communicate with the outside world. Currently the Cosao people still maintain their ethnic identity. Nevertheless, with more and more contact with Chinese and Dai in the outside world and due to their very small population, their culture and language have undergone great change, and are facing assimilation, shifting and endangerment.

## II. Phonology and Consonant Changes

Research data<sup>1</sup> find that there are some distinct differences between two generations, those under sixty years old (adult) and over sixty years old (elder). Linguistic data discussed in Tones, Consonants and Vowels in the following are recorded and reduced from an adult consultant, while the data indicated for Voiced to Voiceless Consonants, Voiced Consonant Clusters to Voiceless Palatalized are taken from an elder and an adult.

### 2.1 Tones, Consonants and Vowels

#### 2.1.1 Tones

Cosao is a tonal language. Five basic tones are found in Cosao adult speech, namely, low falling 31, mid level 33, high level 55, high falling 53, and mid rising 24, for example:

|           |       |                   |                      |      |               |
|-----------|-------|-------------------|----------------------|------|---------------|
| ma31/mə31 | not   | la31              | hand                 | ta31 | paint         |
| ma33      | dream | la33              | stir                 | ta33 | ride          |
| ma55      | night | la55              | length of arm spread | ta55 | little amount |
| ma53      | tired | la53              | massage              | ta53 | look          |
| xəŋ24     | weld  | təŋ <sup>24</sup> | bamboo joint         | ta24 | big           |

#### 2.1.2 Consonants

36 consonants are found in Cosao, including 8 palatalized pj, phj, mj, tj, thj, lj, kj, khj, ŋj, as follows:

|    |     |   |   |    |     |    |   |   |
|----|-----|---|---|----|-----|----|---|---|
| p  | ph  | m | w | pj | phj | mj | f | v |
| ts | tsh |   |   |    |     |    | s | z |
| t  | th  | n | l | tj | thj | lj |   |   |
| tɕ | tɕh | ɲ |   |    |     |    | ɕ | ʐ |
| k  | kh  | ŋ | x | kj | khj | ŋj | ɣ | h |
| q  | qh  |   |   |    |     |    |   |   |

#### 2.1.3 Vowels

43 vowels or finals are founds in Cosao as follows:

|    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|
| i  | a  | e  | ɛ  | ə  | ɯ  | u  | o  | ɔ   | y  |
| ɐ  | ə  | ɔ  |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |
| ei | ai | aɯ | au | əi | əu | ɔi | ua | uai | ui |

<sup>1</sup> Our language consultants include an elder 82 years of age, Mr. TAO, an adult 50 years of age, Mr. ZHAO and Mrs. CHEN 45 years of age, who have been recommended by the community to collaborate with us for a long period of time.

|    |    |    |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|
| am | an | aŋ | ɛn  | ən  | ɛŋ | əŋ | in | iŋ | uŋ |
| ɔm | ɔn | ɔŋ | uan | uaŋ | un | ym |    |    |    |
| ak | ɛt | yp |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |

## 2.2 Consonant Changes

### 2.2.1 Voiced to Voiceless consonants

There are some distinct differences between the elder generation of over eighty years of age, and younger generations under sixty years of age, which displays some consonant evolution in the Cosao language.

In the processes of studying the Cosao language, we found that there are some remarkable sound changes. One of the salient changes is that voiced consonants have changed to voiceless consonants. The elders speak with more voiced consonants: b-, d-, g-, dz-, dz- in some words, while the younger generations speak with p-, t-, k-, ts-, tɕ- in those words. This phenomenon is of particular interest to us therefore we have examined these data carefully. Examples are given as follows:

| eld. voiced                         | > | adult                               | voiceless | eld. voiced   | > | adultvoiceless                                      |                           |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---------------------------|
| la <sup>31</sup> bu <sup>53</sup>   | > | la <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>53</sup>   | hand      | bɛ <sup>33</sup> ʒo <sup>31</sup>                   | > | pɛ <sup>33</sup> ʒo <sup>31</sup>                   | dragon                    |
| bə <sup>31</sup> bu <sup>55</sup>   | > | pə <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>55</sup>   | face      | nɛ <sup>31</sup> do <sup>31</sup>                   | > | nɛ <sup>31</sup> to <sup>31</sup>                   | jaw                       |
| bo <sup>33</sup> mə <sup>33</sup>   | > | po <sup>33</sup> mə <sup>33</sup>   | stomach   | ny <sup>31</sup> by <sup>31</sup>                   | > | ny <sup>31</sup> py <sup>31</sup>                   | nasal discharge           |
| by <sup>31</sup> khur <sup>55</sup> | > | py <sup>31</sup> khur <sup>55</sup> | silk      | nə <sup>31</sup> bə <sup>31</sup> bə <sup>31</sup>  | > | nə <sup>31</sup> pə <sup>31</sup> pə <sup>31</sup>  | deaf                      |
| go <sup>33</sup>                    | > | ko <sup>33</sup>                    | pick up   | su <sup>31</sup> dzu <sup>55</sup> bo <sup>55</sup> | > | su <sup>31</sup> tsu <sup>55</sup> po <sup>55</sup> | tree                      |
| ge <sup>31</sup>                    | > | ke <sup>31</sup>                    | leech     | gu <sup>33</sup>                                    | > | ku <sup>33</sup>                                    | dry                       |
| dʒə <sup>55</sup> ə <sup>33</sup>   | > | tɕə <sup>55</sup> ə <sup>33</sup>   | live      | dʒa <sup>33</sup> ʒə <sup>31</sup>                  | > | tɕa <sup>33</sup> ʒə <sup>31</sup>                  | property/domestic animals |

### 2.2.2 Voiced Consonant Clusters and Voiceless Palatalized

The linguistic evidence shows that the elders have voiced consonant clusters bl, pl, phl, ml<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless the younger generations have changed all those voiced consonant clusters into voiceless palatalized consonants pj, pj, phj, mj, simultaneously voiceless unaspirated clusters into voiceless unaspirated palatalized and aspirated clusters into voiceless aspirated palatalized ones. Examples are given as follows:

| elder bl          | > | adult pj          | meaning   |
|-------------------|---|-------------------|-----------|
| bla <sup>33</sup> | > | pja <sup>33</sup> | open eyes |

<sup>2</sup> During fieldwork, we have found that there are some interesting arguments among our language consultants. The younger informants sometimes disagree with the elder ones' pronunciation of some words. They argued and criticized that the elders are "neither correct, nor clear pronunciation", which arouse our attention more to the difference between generations in sound changes. The data was taken down in the Mangang village by BAI in July, 2015.

|   |   |  |                         |
|---|---|--|-------------------------|
| bla <sup>31</sup> u <sup>33</sup>                                   | > | pja <sup>31</sup> u <sup>33</sup>                                    | taro                    |
| bla <sup>53</sup> khy <sup>33</sup>                                 | > | pja <sup>53</sup> khy <sup>33</sup>                                  | stride over             |
| bo <sup>33</sup> bla <sup>55</sup>                                  | > | po <sup>33</sup> pja <sup>55</sup>                                   | break                   |
| blə <sup>31</sup> tchi <sup>55</sup>                                | > | pjə <sup>31</sup> tchi <sup>55</sup>                                 | honey                   |
| blə <sup>31</sup> xəm <sup>31</sup>                                 | > | pjə <sup>31</sup> xəm <sup>31</sup>                                  | beeswax                 |
| blə <sup>31</sup> po <sup>31</sup>                                  | > | pjə <sup>31</sup> po <sup>31</sup>                                   | honeybeebbox (man-made) |
| ɔŋ <sup>31</sup> blɛ <sup>31</sup> u <sup>55</sup>                  | > | ɔŋ <sup>31</sup> pjɛ <sup>31</sup> u <sup>55</sup>                   | rice-milk               |
| ku <sup>55</sup> blə <sup>31</sup>                                  | > | ku <sup>55</sup> pjə <sup>31</sup>                                   | gooseflesh              |
| zə <sup>31</sup> blɛ <sup>33</sup>                                  | > | zə <sup>31</sup> pjɛ <sup>33</sup>                                   | baby                    |
| blo <sup>31</sup>   | > | a <sup>31</sup> pjo <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>31</sup> pjo <sup>31</sup> | leak not leak           |
| blo <sup>33</sup> əŋ <sup>55</sup>                                  | > | pjo <sup>33</sup> əŋ <sup>55</sup> ə <sup>33</sup>                   | help                    |
| li <sup>55</sup> li <sup>55</sup> blo <sup>33</sup>                 | > | li <sup>55</sup> li <sup>55</sup> pjo <sup>33</sup>                  | Wind blows.             |
| khə <sup>31</sup> blo <sup>31</sup>                                 | > | khy <sup>31</sup> pjo <sup>31</sup>                                  | throat                  |
| blo <sup>55</sup> to <sup>53</sup>                                  | > | pjo <sup>55</sup> to <sup>53</sup>                                   | widower                 |
| nɔ <sup>55</sup> blo <sup>55</sup>                                  | > | nɔ <sup>55</sup> pjo <sup>55</sup>                                   | grasshopper             |
| di <sup>55</sup> blo <sup>33</sup>                                  | > | ti <sup>55</sup> pjo <sup>33</sup>                                   | fan                     |
| blau <sup>55</sup>  | > | pjau <sup>55</sup>   | buffalo                 |
| tɕhɔ <sup>31</sup> blo <sup>53</sup>                                | > | tɕhɔ <sup>31</sup> pjo <sup>53</sup>                                 | penis                   |
| a <sup>31</sup> blo <sup>53</sup> sɔŋ <sup>33</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> | > | a <sup>31</sup> pjo <sup>53</sup> sɔŋ <sup>33</sup> ə <sup>33</sup>  | teacher                 |
| a <sup>31</sup> blo <sup>53</sup> tu <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>33</sup>  | > | a <sup>31</sup> pjo <sup>53</sup> tu <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>33</sup>   | pupil                   |

|  |   |  |                      |
|--|---|--|----------------------|
| <b>elder pl</b>                                    | > | <b>adult pj</b>                                    | <b>meaning</b>       |
| xə <sup>33</sup> pla <sup>55</sup> a <sup>33</sup> | > | xə <sup>33</sup> pja <sup>55</sup> a <sup>33</sup> | break off with hands |
| plə <sup>55</sup> plə <sup>55</sup>                | > | pjə <sup>55</sup> pjə <sup>55</sup>                | to have pus          |
| ʒa <sup>33</sup> plau <sup>55</sup>                | > | ʒa <sup>33</sup> pjau <sup>55</sup>                | broom                |

|  |   |  |                           |
|--|---|--|---------------------------|
| <b>elder phl</b>                                       | > | <b>adult phj</b>                                       | <b>meaning</b>            |
| a <sup>31</sup> phlə <sup>31</sup>                     | > | ə <sup>31</sup> phjə <sup>31</sup>                     | thigh                     |
| nɔ <sup>33</sup> phla <sup>33</sup>                    | > | nɔ <sup>33</sup> phja <sup>33</sup>                    | soybean                   |
| khi <sup>55</sup> the <sup>33</sup> phla <sup>33</sup> | > | khi <sup>55</sup> the <sup>33</sup> phja <sup>33</sup> | broken crotch of trousers |
| tsha <sup>55</sup> phle <sup>53</sup>                  | > | tsha <sup>55</sup> phje <sup>53</sup>                  | braid                     |

|                                     |   |  |                 |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|-----------------|
| <b>elderml</b>                      | > | <b>adultmj</b>   | <b>meaning</b>  |
| mla <sup>33</sup> blə <sup>53</sup> | > | mja <sup>33</sup> pjə <sup>53</sup> mə <sup>31</sup> pjə <sup>53</sup> | blind not blind |
| mla <sup>33</sup> məŋ <sup>31</sup> | > | mja <sup>33</sup> məŋ <sup>31</sup>                                    | eyebrow         |
| mla <sup>33</sup> bi <sup>55</sup>  | > | mja <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>55</sup>                                     | tears           |
| mlɔ <sup>53</sup>                   | > | mjo <sup>53</sup>  | lick            |

|  |   |  |              |
|--|---|--|--------------|
| mləm <sup>53</sup>                                   | > | mjəm <sup>53</sup>                                   | swallow down |
| khə <sup>55</sup> mlə <sup>53</sup>                  | > | khə <sup>55</sup> mjə <sup>53</sup>                  | many         |
| ɔm <sup>31</sup> mlɛ <sup>33</sup> kha <sup>33</sup> | > | ɔm <sup>31</sup> mjɛ <sup>33</sup> kha <sup>33</sup> | thunder      |
| swu <sup>31</sup> mla <sup>33</sup>                  | > | swu <sup>31</sup> mja <sup>33</sup>                  | tree wart    |

### III. Words and Cognate Correspondence

#### 3.1 Parts of Speech

About 3000 words that we have recorded in the last few years include some nouns, pronouns, numerals, classifiers, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, particles and interjections. Here are listed just a few examples for some parts of speech.

##### 3.1.1 Nouns

Nouns include various aspects of object names for concrete and abstract ideas.

##### Names of concrete objects:

|                                    |            |                                     |         |
|------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|---------|
| tso <sup>55</sup>                  | house      | min <sup>31</sup>                   | fire    |
| i <sup>31</sup> tha <sup>31</sup>  | rain       | la <sup>31</sup> phau <sup>33</sup> | stone   |
| ma <sup>55</sup> tan <sup>33</sup> | watermelon | ma <sup>55</sup> min <sup>55</sup>  | cat     |
| ma <sup>55</sup> lɔm <sup>53</sup> | ball       | ma <sup>55</sup> kjɔ <sup>33</sup>  | pumpkin |

##### Names of abstract concepts:

|   |                    |   |          |
|---|--------------------|---|----------|
| nu <sup>33</sup> və <sup>33</sup>                   | conscientious      | a <sup>31</sup> sa <sup>31</sup> lo <sup>55</sup> | soul     |
| ne <sup>31</sup> khu <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>31</sup> | supernatural being | ne <sup>31</sup> kha <sup>33</sup>                | devil    |
| a <sup>31</sup> thu <sup>55</sup>                   | sound              | su <sup>31</sup> tu <sup>31</sup>                 | language |
| a <sup>31</sup> thu <sup>55</sup>                   | sound              | su <sup>31</sup> tu <sup>31</sup>                 | language |

##### Names of Times:

|   |           |  |            |
|---|-----------|--|------------|
| i <sup>31</sup> ŋji <sup>33</sup>                 | yesterday | i <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup>                                     | last night |
| a <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>55</sup> tɔ <sup>33</sup> | recent    | a <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>55</sup> thə <sup>31</sup> thə <sup>55</sup> | future     |
| lə <sup>33</sup>                                  | month     | naŋ <sup>33</sup>  | year       |

##### Names of Locations:

|   |                    |   |                         |
|---|--------------------|---|-------------------------|
| pu <sup>55</sup> tɔ <sup>33</sup>                                   | east               | pu <sup>55</sup> qə <sup>33</sup>                                       | west                    |
| a <sup>31</sup> u <sup>53</sup>                                     | front              | a <sup>31</sup> tha <sup>53</sup>                                       | above                   |
| a <sup>31</sup> khɛ <sup>31</sup>                                   | in side of a house | a <sup>31</sup> tɕa <sup>33</sup> la <sup>33</sup>                      | out side of house       |
| la <sup>31</sup> au <sup>31</sup> la <sup>31</sup> mɔ <sup>55</sup> | left and right     | ʒa <sup>55</sup> pha <sup>53</sup> na <sup>55</sup> pha <sup>53</sup>   | here and there          |
| a <sup>31</sup> ɔ <sup>31</sup> pjɔ <sup>55</sup>                   | beneath            | tso <sup>33</sup> tho <sup>53</sup> tso <sup>55</sup> tɕa <sup>55</sup> | front and back of house |

##### Terms of Kinship

|                                   |         |                                   |         |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| ə <sup>31</sup> phy <sup>53</sup> | grandpa | ə <sup>31</sup> phi <sup>53</sup> | grandma |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|

|                                    |               |                                     |                          |
|------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ə <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>33</sup>   | father        | ə <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>33</sup>    | mother                   |
| zə <sup>31</sup> zə <sup>33</sup>  | son           | ə <sup>55</sup> mən <sup>33</sup>   | wife of mother's brother |
| zə <sup>31</sup> mi <sup>31</sup>  | daughter      | a <sup>33</sup> tshai <sup>33</sup> | elder sister             |
| lan <sup>33</sup>                  | grandchild    | khəi <sup>33</sup>                  | daughter's husband       |
| a <sup>33</sup> zə <sup>53</sup>   | elder brother | ə <sup>55</sup> ky <sup>33</sup>    | mother's brother         |
| zə <sup>33</sup> tɕi <sup>55</sup> | husband       | khə <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>33</sup>  | wife                     |

### Names of New Utensils Loaned from Chinese

|   |                   |  |              |
|---|-------------------|--|--------------|
| səu <sup>31</sup> tɕi <sup>33</sup>                   | mobile phone      | thə <sup>55</sup> la <sup>55</sup> tɕi <sup>55</sup> | tractor      |
| mo <sup>31</sup> thə <sup>31</sup> tshə <sup>33</sup> | motor             | piŋ <sup>55</sup> ɕaŋ <sup>55</sup>                  | refrigerator |
| tjen <sup>24</sup> lu <sup>31</sup>                   | electricity stove | ve <sup>55</sup> ɕi <sup>55</sup> ti <sup>55</sup>   | VCD          |

### 3.1.2 Pronouns

#### Personal Pronouns:

| psn<br>cas |     | 1 person  | 2 person   | 3 person   |
|------------|-----|---|--|--|
| sl         | NOM | ŋə <sup>55</sup> I  | nə <sup>55</sup> you   | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> he/she   |
|            | ACC | ŋa <sup>31</sup> me   | nə <sup>55</sup> you   | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> him/her/it                                     |
|            | GEN | ŋə <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> my                         | nə <sup>55</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> yours                       | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> his/her/its                    |
| pl         | NOM | ŋa <sup>55</sup> ŋje <sup>53</sup> we two                   | na <sup>33</sup> ŋje <sup>53</sup> you two                   | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> ŋje <sup>53</sup> he/she two                   |
|            | ACC | ŋa <sup>55</sup> ŋje <sup>53</sup> we two                   | na <sup>33</sup> ŋje <sup>53</sup> you two                   | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> ŋje <sup>53</sup> he/she two                   |
|            | GEN | ŋa <sup>55</sup> ŋje <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> we two's | na <sup>33</sup> ŋje <sup>53</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> you two's | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> ŋje <sup>53</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> he/she two's |
|            | NOM | ŋə <sup>33</sup> yu <sup>53</sup> we                        | nə <sup>55</sup> yu <sup>33</sup> you                        | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> zəu <sup>33</sup> they                         |
|            | ACC | ŋə <sup>33</sup> yu <sup>53</sup> us                        | nə <sup>55</sup> yu <sup>33</sup> you                        | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> zəu <sup>33</sup> them                         |
|            | GEN | ŋə <sup>55</sup> yu <sup>33</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> our       | nə <sup>55</sup> yu <sup>33</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> your       | a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup> zəu <sup>33</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> their        |

#### Demonstrative Pronoun

i<sup>55</sup> this, ni<sup>55</sup> that, i<sup>55</sup>le<sup>33</sup> this one, ni<sup>55</sup>le<sup>31</sup> that one, i<sup>55</sup>zəu<sup>33</sup> these ni<sup>55</sup>zəu<sup>33</sup> those

#### Interrogative Pronoun

|  |              |   |                  |
|--|--------------|---|------------------|
| thə <sup>31</sup> ɕi <sup>33</sup>                                   | who          | khə <sup>55</sup> lu <sup>31</sup> lai <sup>55</sup>  | how many persons |
| a <sup>55</sup> tɕhə <sup>31</sup>                                   | what         | khə <sup>55</sup> lu <sup>31</sup>                    | how many things  |
| khə <sup>31</sup> ɕi <sup>55</sup>                                   | which        | khə <sup>24</sup> lə <sup>33</sup> thə <sup>55</sup>  | how many often   |
| khə <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> lai <sup>55</sup>                  | which one    | khə <sup>31</sup> məŋ <sup>33</sup> zəŋ <sup>31</sup> | when             |
| ə <sup>55</sup> tɕhə <sup>33</sup> ye <sup>53</sup>                  | which kind   | a <sup>55</sup> tɕhə <sup>33</sup> lai <sup>24</sup>  | why              |
| khə <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>24</sup> thə <sup>31</sup> ki <sup>55</sup> | which matter | a <sup>55</sup> tɕhə <sup>33</sup>                    | how              |
| khə <sup>31</sup> pa <sup>33</sup>                                   | where        | a <sup>55</sup> tɕhə <sup>33</sup> le <sup>53</sup>   | how about        |

### 3.1.3 Numerals



Cardinal Numerals: thə<sup>31</sup> one, ŋje<sup>53</sup> two, sa<sup>33</sup> three, li<sup>53</sup> four, ŋə<sup>31</sup> five, khjo<sup>31</sup> six, ɕei<sup>53</sup> seven, ɛ<sup>31</sup> eight, ky<sup>31</sup> nine, tshə<sup>55</sup> ten.

Cosao have been using the local Chinese numbers: ʒi<sup>31</sup> one, ə<sup>24</sup> two, san<sup>55</sup> three, su<sup>24</sup> four, wu<sup>31</sup> five, lu<sup>53</sup> six, tɕhi<sup>31</sup> seven, pa<sup>31</sup> eight, tɕə<sup>33</sup> nine, su<sup>53</sup> ten, liŋ<sup>31</sup> zero (Chi) .

Cosao have been using the local Dai numbers: nun<sup>33</sup> one, sɔŋ<sup>33</sup> two, san<sup>33</sup> three, ɕi<sup>24</sup> four, ha<sup>213</sup> five, hok<sup>24</sup> six, ɕai<sup>53</sup> seven, pjet<sup>24</sup> eight, kau<sup>213</sup> nine, ɕet<sup>24</sup> ten, hɔi<sup>33</sup> hundred, pan<sup>31</sup> thousand, mun<sup>55</sup> ten thousand.

### 3.1.4 Classifiers

Classifiers are numerous. They are likely constituent with own classifiers, Dai and Chinese loaned classifiers which could be divided into several subcategories according to its origins and functions. Classifiers always follow nouns and numerals to compose a pattern: NP + NUM + CLF.

Individual classifiers reduplicate noun or its constituents. They are consistently used with designated nouns, which is popular in Cosao:

|                    |                   |                    |                  |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| pjen <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | pjen <sup>55</sup> | a piece of board |
| board              | one               | CLF-board          |                  |
| pɔ <sup>33</sup>   | thə <sup>31</sup> | pɔ <sup>33</sup>   | a book           |

Individual classifiers reduplicate stem of nouns instead of prefixes:

|                                  |                   |                  |                      |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| a <sup>31</sup> sa <sup>53</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | sa <sup>53</sup> | a life               |
| life                             | one               | CLF-life         |                      |
| a <sup>31</sup> u <sup>55</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | u <sup>55</sup>  | a piece of intestine |
| intestine                        | one               | CLF-intestine    |                      |

Classifiers reduplicate key constituents of compound nouns:

|                                     |                   |                   |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| khə <sup>31</sup> sə <sup>31</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | khə <sup>31</sup> | a rice bowl |
| bowl                                | one               | CLF-bowl          |             |
| ʒa <sup>33</sup> pjau <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | ʒa <sup>33</sup>  | a broom     |
| broom                               | one               | CLF-broom         |             |
| su <sup>31</sup> pha <sup>53</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | pha <sup>53</sup> | a leaf      |
| tree-leaf                           | one               | CLF-leaf          |             |
| su <sup>31</sup> tu <sup>31</sup>   | thə <sup>31</sup> | tu <sup>31</sup>  | a word      |
| word                                | one               | CLF-word          |             |

Sharing classifier mɔm<sup>55</sup> “body, stem” is originated from ə<sup>31</sup>mɔm<sup>55</sup> meaning “body”, which is used to account of whole body of animals, birds and insects.

|                                   |                  |                   |                |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| mjɔm <sup>53</sup>                | sa <sup>33</sup> | mɔm <sup>55</sup> | three horses   |
| horse                             | three            | CLF               |                |
| pu <sup>31</sup> na <sup>33</sup> | ŋə <sup>31</sup> | mɔm <sup>55</sup> | five buffaloes |
| buffalo                           | five             | CLF               |                |

|  |                   |                   |                 |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| a <sup>33</sup> phə <sup>31</sup> phə <sup>31</sup> phju <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | məm <sup>55</sup> | a white rooster |
| cock   | one               | CLF               |                 |
| ne <sup>31</sup> kha <sup>33</sup>                                     | thə <sup>31</sup> | məm <sup>55</sup> | a demon         |
| demon  | one               | CLF               |                 |

Personal classifier lai<sup>55</sup> for measuring human beings is frequently used:

|  |                   |                   |                |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| zə <sup>31</sup> min <sup>31</sup>                                 | ŋje <sup>53</sup> | lai <sup>55</sup> | two daughters  |
| daughter   | two               | CLF               |                |
| a <sup>55</sup> zau <sup>53</sup> a <sup>33</sup> pa <sup>53</sup> | sa <sup>33</sup>  | lai <sup>55</sup> | three brothers |
| brother  | three             | CLF               |                |
| tsho <sup>55</sup> zə <sup>31</sup>                                | sa <sup>33</sup>  | lai <sup>55</sup> | three people   |
| people   | three             | CLF               |                |

Object classifier le<sup>31</sup> for measuring articles:

|                                     |                   |                  |           |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------|
| tha <sup>53</sup> zə <sup>31</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | le <sup>31</sup> | a chisel  |
| chisel                              | one               | CLF              |           |
| min <sup>31</sup> tuw <sup>53</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | le <sup>31</sup> | a lighter |
| lighter                             | one               | CLF              |           |

Classifier u<sup>33</sup> originates from “egg”, for accounting “egg”:

|                                   |                   |                 |               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| a <sup>31</sup> au <sup>33</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | u <sup>33</sup> | a chicken egg |
| chicken-egg                       | one               | CLF             |               |
| qhe <sup>31</sup> u <sup>33</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | u <sup>33</sup> | a bird egg    |
| bird-egg                          | one               | CLF             |               |

Classifier u<sup>33</sup> also accounts for egg-shaped roots and tubers:

|   |                   |                 |               |
|---|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| pja <sup>31</sup> u <sup>33</sup>                   | thə <sup>31</sup> | u <sup>33</sup> | a taro        |
| taro  | one               | CLF             |               |
| muw <sup>31</sup>                                   | thə <sup>31</sup> | u <sup>33</sup> | a Chinese yam |
| Chinese-yam   | one               | CLF             |               |
| tso <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>33</sup> pa <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | u <sup>33</sup> | a cassava     |
| cassava   | one               | CLF             |               |
| za <sup>31</sup> zi <sup>55</sup>                   | thə <sup>31</sup> | u <sup>33</sup> | a potato      |
| potato  | one               | CLF             |               |

Classifier sə<sup>31</sup> originates from ə<sup>31</sup>lə<sup>31</sup> “fruit” for accounting fruit, fruit-shaped objects, or alike:

|                                    |                   |                  |              |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| ə <sup>31</sup> sə <sup>31</sup>   | thə <sup>31</sup> | sə <sup>31</sup> | a fruit      |
| fruit                              | one               | CLF              |              |
| sə <sup>31</sup> phy <sup>31</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | sə <sup>31</sup> | a wild apple |
| wild apple                         | one               | CLS              |              |
| əŋ <sup>31</sup> ki <sup>55</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | sə <sup>31</sup> | a star       |
| star                               | one               | CLF              |              |

|                                     |                   |                  |               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| phju <sup>55</sup> mə <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | sə <sup>31</sup> | a silver coin |
| silver                              | one               | CLF              |               |

Classifier tse<sup>31</sup> for accounting pairs of articles:

|                                      |                   |                   |                            |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| khi <sup>55</sup> tshu <sup>53</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | tse <sup>31</sup> | a pair of shoes            |
| shoes                                | one               | CLF-pair          |                            |
| tche <sup>33</sup> thu <sup>31</sup> | sa <sup>33</sup>  | tse <sup>53</sup> | three pairs of chop sticks |
| chopstick                            | three             | CLF-pair          |                            |

Classifier khəŋ<sup>55</sup> a body part of pairs, or a single of pairs:

|                                    |                   |                    |          |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------|
| na <sup>31</sup> pha <sup>31</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | khəŋ <sup>55</sup> | one ear  |
| ear                                | one               | CLF                |          |
| la <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>53</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | khəŋ <sup>55</sup> | one hand |
| hand                               | one               | CLF                |          |
| mja <sup>33</sup> sə <sup>31</sup> | ŋje <sup>53</sup> | khəŋ <sup>55</sup> | two eyes |
| eye                                | two               | CLF                |          |
| a <sup>31</sup> khi <sup>55</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | khəŋ <sup>55</sup> | one foot |
| foot                               | one               | CLF                |          |

Classifier xε<sup>33</sup> for measuring a sheet, piece or pair of clothing:

|   |                   |                  |                    |
|---|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| pha <sup>55</sup> tɕen <sup>33</sup>                      | thə <sup>31</sup> | xε <sup>33</sup> | a piece towel      |
| towel   | one               | CLF              |                    |
| mau <sup>31</sup> than <sup>33;31</sup> kja <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | xε <sup>33</sup> | a sheet of blanket |
| blanket   | one               | CLF              |                    |

Classifier po<sup>55</sup> originating from su<sup>31</sup>tsu<sup>55</sup>po<sup>55</sup> “stem of plant” counting for plants:

|   |                   |                  |              |
|---|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| tho <sup>31</sup> xu <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>31</sup> po <sup>55</sup>   | thə <sup>31</sup> | po <sup>55</sup> | a pine tree  |
| pine-tree   | one               | CLF-tree         |              |
| su <sup>31</sup> tɕhau <sup>31</sup> a <sup>31</sup> po <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | po <sup>55</sup> | a plum tree  |
| plum  | one               | CLF-tree         |              |
| səŋ <sup>31</sup> a <sup>31</sup> po <sup>55</sup>                    | thə <sup>31</sup> | po <sup>55</sup> | a peach tree |
| peach-tree  | one               | CLF-tree         |              |

Classifier tsho<sup>5</sup> for measuring cluster, tuft of plants:

|                                      |                   |                    |                      |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| pho <sup>31</sup> tɕhi <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | tsho <sup>53</sup> | a tuft of sugar cane |
| sugarcane                            | one               | CLF-cluster        |                      |
| ŋa <sup>33</sup> tɕhə <sup>55</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | tsho <sup>53</sup> | a tuft of banana     |
| banana                               | one               | CLF-cluster        |                      |

Classifier xo<sup>31</sup> for counting rod, or log of plants:

|                                      |                   |                  |              |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| pho <sup>31</sup> tɕhi <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | xo <sup>31</sup> | a sugar cane |
| sugar can                            | one               | CLF-rod          |              |

|  |                   |                  |              |
|--|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| və <sup>31</sup>                                     | thə <sup>31</sup> | xo <sup>31</sup> | a bamboo rod |
| bamboo   | one               | CLF-rod          |              |
| suu <sup>31</sup> tsu <sup>55</sup> po <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | xo <sup>31</sup> | a log        |
| tree-stem  | one               | CLF-rod          |              |

Classifier lo<sup>33</sup> originating from “a longish piece of bamboo from joint to another joint” which measures objects with joints:

|                                   |                   |                  |                   |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| və <sup>31</sup>                  | thə <sup>31</sup> | lo <sup>33</sup> | a joint of bamboo |
| bamboo                            | one               | CLF-joint        |                   |
| la <sup>31</sup> lo <sup>33</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | lo <sup>33</sup> | a low part of arm |
| arm                               | one               | CLF-joint        |                   |

Classifier lo<sup>33</sup> also extending to measuring for longish plots of land, and road:

|                                   |                   |                  |  |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--|
| ti <sup>33</sup> ko <sup>53</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | lo <sup>33</sup> | a long plot of paddy field             |
| paddy                             | one               | CLF-plot         |  |
| a <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>33</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | lo <sup>33</sup> | a pass in mountains with weeds covered |
| passage                           | one               | CLF-field-pass   |  |

Classifier tɔŋ<sup>24</sup> for counting piece of log:

|                                      |                   |                   |                       |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| xo <sup>53</sup>                     | thə <sup>31</sup> | tɔŋ <sup>24</sup> | a piece of log        |
| log                                  | one               | CLF               |                       |
| pho <sup>31</sup> tɕhi <sup>55</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | tɔŋ <sup>24</sup> | a piece of sugar cane |
| sugar-cane                           | one               | CLF               |                       |

Classifier tsu<sup>31</sup> for counting of bundles:

|                                    |                   |                   |                          |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| ku <sup>31</sup> tɕi <sup>31</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | tsu <sup>31</sup> | a bundle of vegetables   |
| vegetable                          | one               | CLF-bundle        |                          |
| i <sup>53</sup>                    | thə <sup>31</sup> | tsu <sup>31</sup> | a bundle of thatch grass |
| thatch-grass                       | one               | CLF-bundle        |                          |

Classifier the<sup>33</sup> for counting wrapped matters:

|                                   |                   |                   |                    |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| a <sup>31</sup> kja <sup>31</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | the <sup>33</sup> | a package of thing |
| thing                             | one               | CLF-package       |                    |
| ɔŋ <sup>31</sup>                  | thə <sup>31</sup> | the <sup>33</sup> | a package of rice  |
| rice                              | one               | CLF-package       |                    |

Classifier haŋ<sup>33</sup> for counting a set of farm tools:

|                    |                   |                   |               |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| phu <sup>33</sup>  | thə <sup>31</sup> | haŋ <sup>33</sup> | a hand harrow |
| hand-harrow        | one               | CLF-harrow        |               |
| phei <sup>33</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | haŋ <sup>33</sup> | a foot harrow |
| foot-harrow        | one               | CLF-harrow        |               |

Classifier tso<sup>33</sup> for counting young seedling or plant:

|                                   |                   |                   |               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| ko <sup>33</sup> zə <sup>31</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | tso <sup>33</sup> | a young plant |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|

|                                      |                   |                   |                        |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| young-plants                         | one               | CLF-seedling      |                        |
| tsha <sup>55</sup> tsə <sup>53</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | tsə <sup>33</sup> | a seedling of rapeseed |
| rapeseed                             | one               | CLF-seedling      |                        |

Classifier tsho<sup>53</sup> for counting plants cluster:

|  |                   |                    |                       |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| ʒa <sup>55</sup> kha <sup>33</sup> ty <sup>31</sup> py <sup>33</sup> | thə <sup>31</sup> | tsho <sup>53</sup> | a cluster of weeds    |
| weed   | one               | CLF-cluster        |                       |
| ku <sup>31</sup> po <sup>55</sup>                                    | thə <sup>31</sup> | tsho <sup>53</sup> | a cluster of scallion |
| scallion   | one               | CLF-cluster        |                       |

### 3.1.5 Adjectives

Adjectives are mainly monosyllable stems:

|                     |      |                   |         |                   |       |                   |            |
|---------------------|------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|------------|
| naŋ <sup>53</sup>   | deep | pə <sup>31</sup>  | shallow | ko <sup>33</sup>  | curve | pi <sup>33</sup>  | transverse |
| tshym <sup>33</sup> | tine | mə <sup>55</sup>  | thin    | muŋ <sup>31</sup> | good  | səu <sup>31</sup> | bad        |
| lo <sup>55</sup>    | hot  | u <sup>53</sup>   | far     | məm <sup>31</sup> | old   | nən <sup>31</sup> | tender     |
| nə <sup>31</sup>    | near | mjə <sup>53</sup> | more    | pu <sup>55</sup>  | gray  | ə <sup>31</sup>   | correct    |

There are some bi-syllable adjectives:

|                                    |          |                                     |           |
|------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| zə <sup>31</sup> su <sup>53</sup>  | clever   | la <sup>55</sup> ŋa <sup>53</sup>   | stupid    |
| pjo <sup>33</sup> tu <sup>53</sup> | lazy     | tho <sup>31</sup> khə <sup>31</sup> | vertical  |
| ŋe <sup>31</sup> na <sup>55</sup>  | fragrant | ta <sup>53</sup> muŋ <sup>31</sup>  | beautiful |

However more dissyllable adjectives are derived from mono-syllables with prefix a<sup>31</sup>-, or zə<sup>33</sup>- which function as nominatives:

|                                   |           |                                     |              |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| a <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>55</sup>  | grayness  | a <sup>31</sup> mi <sup>31</sup>    | purple color |
| a <sup>31</sup> lan <sup>55</sup> | blueness  | a <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>31</sup>    | short height |
| a <sup>31</sup> pje <sup>31</sup> | thickness | a <sup>31</sup> ŋje <sup>31</sup>   | emptiness    |
| zə <sup>33</sup> mə <sup>33</sup> | bigness   | zə <sup>33</sup> mjoŋ <sup>55</sup> | height       |

Other adjectives are formed with the nominalizing prefix, and then with a suffix where the vowel is the vowel of the adjective stem, which form a vowel harmony pattern of [-lv]:

|   |              |  |             |
|---|--------------|--|-------------|
| a <sup>31</sup> ko <sup>33</sup> lo <sup>33</sup> | curvedly     | a <sup>31</sup> pə <sup>55</sup> lə <sup>55</sup>    | deep red    |
| a <sup>31</sup> pi <sup>33</sup> li <sup>33</sup> | transversely | a <sup>31</sup> hu <sup>55</sup> lu <sup>55</sup>    | very yellow |
| a <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>55</sup> lu <sup>55</sup> | gray         | tho <sup>31</sup> khə <sup>31</sup> lə <sup>31</sup> | vertically  |
| a <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>31</sup> le <sup>31</sup> | very shortly | a <sup>33</sup> lo <sup>31</sup> lo <sup>31</sup>    | brightly    |

A few adjectives are formed with negative mə<sup>31</sup> “not” to contrast with their partners:

|                                    |         |                  |                                    |       |
|------------------------------------|---------|------------------|------------------------------------|-------|
| ta <sup>53</sup> muŋ <sup>31</sup> | beauty  | mə <sup>31</sup> | ta <sup>53</sup> muŋ <sup>31</sup> | ugly  |
| look-good                          |         | NEG-not          | look-good                          |       |
| ə <sup>31</sup>                    | correct | mə <sup>31</sup> | ə <sup>31</sup>                    | error |
| correct                            |         | NEG-not          | correct                            |       |

Different degrees of adjectives are always indicated by adverb tsəi<sup>55</sup> “very”:

|                   |                    |            |                    |                    |              |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| ɕən <sup>31</sup> | tsəi <sup>55</sup> | very new   | pə <sup>31</sup>   | tsəi <sup>55</sup> | very shallow |
| new               | very               |            | shallow            | very               |              |
| ny <sup>55</sup>  | tsəi <sup>55</sup> | very short | tɕhə <sup>55</sup> | tsəi <sup>55</sup> | very sour    |
| short             | very               |            | sour               | very               |              |

Some adjectives with tsəi “very” are reduplicated, which forms a pattern of ABB+ tsəi to describe their nuances and functions:

|                                    |                    |                    |              |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| a <sup>31</sup> pə <sup>31</sup>   | pə <sup>31</sup>   | tsəi <sup>55</sup> | very shallow |
| PREF-shallow                       | REDUP              | very               |              |
| a <sup>31</sup> kheŋ <sup>31</sup> | kheŋ <sup>31</sup> | tsəi <sup>55</sup> | very narrow  |
| PREF-narrow                        | REDUP              | very               |              |

Adjective for colors are consisted of prefix, and suffix with l- plus a reduplicating preceding vowel to functioning adverbs:

|   |        |   |         |
|---|--------|---|---------|
| a <sup>31</sup> pə <sup>55</sup> lə <sup>55</sup> | redly  | a <sup>31</sup> phju <sup>55</sup> lu <sup>55</sup> | whitely |
| PREF-red-SUFF                                     |        | PREF-white-SUFF                                     |         |
| a <sup>31</sup> na <sup>33</sup> la <sup>33</sup> | darkly | tɕi <sup>31</sup> ny <sup>55</sup> ly <sup>55</sup> | greenly |
| PREF-black-SUFF                                   |        | PREF-green-SUFF                                     |         |

### 3.1.6 Verbs

Mono-syllable verbs are constantly followed by an ə<sup>33</sup>, ɛ<sup>33</sup> or a<sup>33</sup> to compile a verb phrases:

|                   |                 |         |                    |                 |           |                    |                 |         |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|---------|
| ku <sup>55</sup>  | ə <sup>33</sup> | to call | se <sup>53</sup>   | ə <sup>33</sup> | to splash | khe <sup>31</sup>  | ɛ <sup>33</sup> | to bite |
| call              | PRT             |         | splash             | PRT             |           | bite               | PRT             |         |
| the <sup>33</sup> | ɛ <sup>33</sup> | to pat  | tsha <sup>53</sup> | a <sup>33</sup> | to teach  | tsha <sup>31</sup> | a <sup>33</sup> | to tell |
| pat               | PRT             |         | teach              | PRT             |           | tell               | PRT             |         |

Dissyllable verbs:

|                                     |            |                                      |               |
|-------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| no <sup>33</sup> ta <sup>53</sup>   | listen to  | thau <sup>33</sup> tha <sup>53</sup> | hold on       |
| bla <sup>33</sup> khy <sup>33</sup> | cross over | i <sup>31</sup> thi <sup>53</sup>    | sleep soundly |
| xə <sup>33</sup> kja <sup>53</sup>  | tear break | le <sup>33</sup> ku <sup>55</sup>    | throw off     |
| ka <sup>31</sup> to <sup>33</sup>   | extend to  | phə <sup>55</sup> tha <sup>53</sup>  | hold in       |

It is common for a verb to reduplicate, or to copy a noun stem:

|                                  |                  |                   |                                   |                   |                 |
|----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| a <sup>31</sup> pə <sup>33</sup> | pə <sup>33</sup> | A sprout sprouts. | a <sup>31</sup> ze <sup>33</sup>  | ze <sup>33</sup>  | Flowers flower. |
| PREF-bud                         | REDUP            |                   | PREF-flower                       | REDUP             |                 |
| a <sup>31</sup> au <sup>33</sup> | au <sup>33</sup> | Hatch an egg.     | a <sup>31</sup> min <sup>55</sup> | min <sup>55</sup> | Name a name.    |
| PREF-egg                         | REDUP            |                   | PREF-name                         | REDUP             |                 |

It is common for a verb to reduplicate a compound constituent to form a clause :

|                                    |                    |                |                                     |                    |                    |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| ma <sup>31</sup> min <sup>55</sup> | ma <sup>33</sup>   | Dream a dream. | lo <sup>33</sup> phau <sup>33</sup> | phau <sup>33</sup> | Break a stone.     |
| dream                              | REDUP              |                | stone                               | REDUP              |                    |
| mi <sup>31</sup> tho <sup>31</sup> | tho <sup>31</sup>  | Light is on.   | u <sup>31</sup> pha <sup>31</sup>   | pha <sup>31</sup>  | Dress headdresses. |
| light                              | REDUP              |                | dress                               | REDUP.             |                    |
| u <sup>31</sup> tsho <sup>31</sup> | tsho <sup>31</sup> | Wear a hat.    | i <sup>31</sup> tche <sup>31</sup>  | tche <sup>31</sup> | Pee a pee.         |
| hat                                | REDUP              |                | pee                                 | REDUP.             |                    |

### 3.1.7 Adverbs

Adverbs might be defined as modifiers of verbs or adjectives for increasing their intensities. They might be categorized into adverbs of degree, time, manner, range, probability, negation, sequence, frequency and interrogation.

Adverbs of degrees always follow a verb or adjective, of them tsəi<sup>55</sup> “very” is a very common one:

|                               |   |                                   |                    |                                       |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| i <sup>55</sup>               | khə <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>33</sup> zə <sup>31</sup> | ta <sup>53</sup> muŋ <sup>3</sup> | tsəi <sup>55</sup> | lə <sup>33</sup> .                    |
| DEM-this                      | woman   | look-good                         | very               | PRT                                   |
| This woman is very beautiful. |   |                                   |                    |                                       |
| i <sup>55</sup>               | va <sup>31</sup>                                    | mə <sup>31</sup>                  | po <sup>31</sup>   | tsəi <sup>55</sup> lə <sup>33</sup> . |
| DEM-this                      | pig   | NEG-not                           | fat                | very PRT                              |
| This pig is not fat.          |   |                                   |                    |                                       |

Adverbs of sequence always proceed in a cause. Here are a couple of examples as follows:

|  |                                     |                  |                   |                                   |                                    |                   |                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| ə <sup>31</sup> u <sup>31</sup>                                    | a <sup>33</sup> tshai <sup>31</sup> | a <sup>33</sup>  | pi <sup>31</sup>  | tsə <sup>31</sup> ,               | a <sup>55</sup> nə <sup>33</sup>   | nə <sup>33</sup>  | tsə <sup>31</sup> . |
| first  | elder-sister                        | CAU.PRT          | CAU.giving        | eat                               | then                               | 2SL-you           | eat                 |
| First let elder sister eats, then you eat.                         |                                     |                  |                   |                                   |                                    |                   |                     |
| ə <sup>31</sup> u <sup>31</sup>                                    | zə <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>33</sup>   | tu <sup>53</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> , | ə <sup>31</sup> zəu <sup>55</sup> | ku <sup>31</sup> nan <sup>33</sup> | ɕie <sup>53</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> ,   |
| first  | field                               | dig              | PRT               | then                              | seeds                              | sow               | PRT                 |
| a <sup>31</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> mo <sup>55</sup> | i <sup>55</sup> tcho <sup>53</sup>  | xy <sup>55</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> . |                                   |                                    |                   |                     |
| finally  | water                               | water            | PRT               |                                   |                                    |                   |                     |
| First dig field up, then sow seeds in, finally water the field.    |                                     |                  |                   |                                   |                                    |                   |                     |

### 3.1.8 Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions always connect a series of phrases:

|   |                                   |  |   |                 |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|---|-----------------|
| ŋə <sup>31</sup>                                    | ə <sup>31</sup> nəŋ <sup>55</sup> | khjo <sup>31</sup>                                 | tca <sup>33</sup> kau <sup>33</sup> phu <sup>55</sup> | ə <sup>55</sup> |
| five  | CONJ                              | six  | put-together  | PRT             |
| tshə <sup>55</sup> thə <sup>31</sup>                | tə <sup>33</sup>                  | lə <sup>55</sup> .                                 |   |                 |
| ten-one   | produce                           | come   |   |                 |
| Put five and six together makes eleven.             |                                   |  |   |                 |
| khə <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>33</sup> zə <sup>31</sup> | ə <sup>31</sup> nəŋ <sup>55</sup> | zə <sup>33</sup> ku <sup>31</sup> zo <sup>33</sup> |   |                 |
| woman   | CONJ                              | children   |   |                 |

|                                     |                                   |                     |                   |  |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--|
| tə <sup>33</sup> məm <sup>53</sup>  | ŋə <sup>31</sup> tə <sup>55</sup> | tshau <sup>33</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> . |  |
| all                                 | fish                              | catch               | PRT               |  |
| Women and children are all fishing. |                                   |                     |                   |  |

### 3.1.9 Particles

#### Structure particles

Structure particles make various structure phrases in Cosao, ə<sup>33</sup> and li<sup>33</sup> are two of them. Structure particle ə<sup>33</sup> has many functions. One of the most salient uses of ə<sup>33</sup> is to attach to a verb forming a verb phrase:

|                   |                 |       |                    |                 |     |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|-----------------|-----|
| nəm <sup>31</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> | stamp | tsə <sup>31</sup>  | ə <sup>33</sup> | eat |
| stamp             | STPT            |       | eat                | STPT            |     |
| tu <sup>53</sup>  | ə <sup>33</sup> | dig   | phje <sup>33</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> | cut |
| dig               | STPT            |       | cut                | STPT            |     |

Structure particle li<sup>31</sup> is attached to frequent noun khə<sup>33</sup>mən<sup>33</sup> “often, any time”:

|                                 |                                     |                                     |                                     |                                   |                   |                  |                    |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| ŋə <sup>33</sup>                | khə <sup>33</sup> mə <sup>55</sup>  | khə <sup>33</sup> mən <sup>33</sup> | li <sup>31</sup>                    | a <sup>55</sup> khu <sup>33</sup> | ku <sup>31</sup>  | zi <sup>55</sup> | zə <sup>33</sup> . |
| 1SG.GEN-my                      | wife                                | often                               | STPT                                | vegetable                         | sell              | go               | PRT                |
| My wife often sells vegetables. |                                     |                                     |                                     |                                   |                   |                  |                    |
| ŋə <sup>55</sup>                | khə <sup>33</sup> mən <sup>33</sup> | li <sup>31</sup>                    | pi <sup>31</sup> təha <sup>31</sup> | lə <sup>33</sup>                  | ə <sup>33</sup> . |                  |                    |
| I                               | often                               | STPT                                | Mengban                             | come                              | PRT               |                  |                    |
| I often come to Mengban.        |                                     |                                     |                                     |                                   |                   |                  |                    |

#### Topic particles

There are a few topic particles. Particle ə<sup>33</sup> is one of the topic particles, which follows a noun:

|   |                                    |                                    |                                   |                                   |                      |                  |
|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| i <sup>55</sup>   | zə <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>33</sup>  | ə <sup>33</sup>                    | ŋə <sup>31</sup>                  | a <sup>33</sup> zau <sup>53</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> .    |                  |
| DEM-this  | child                              | TOP                                | GEN-my                            | elder-brother                     | GEN.PRT              |                  |
| This child is my elder brother's.                                 |                                    |                                    |                                   |                                   |                      |                  |
| i <sup>55</sup>   | ku <sup>33</sup> pha <sup>31</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup>                    | a <sup>55</sup> tɕa <sup>33</sup> | li <sup>31</sup>                  | tsə <sup>31</sup>    | mə <sup>31</sup> |
| DEM-this  | vegetable                          | TOP                                | cooked                            | yet                               | eat                  | NEG-not          |
| ŋu <sup>55</sup>  | qhəu <sup>33</sup>                 | a <sup>55</sup> tɕin <sup>31</sup> | li <sup>31</sup>                  | tshə <sup>31</sup>                | qhəu <sup>33</sup> . |                  |
| be  | AUX-can                            | raw                                | also                              | eat                               | AUX-can              |                  |
| This kind of vegetable can not only be eaten cooked but also raw. |                                    |                                    |                                   |                                   |                      |                  |

#### Agent and Patient Particles

Agent particle ə<sup>33</sup> is placed after an agent and patient particle a<sup>33</sup> is placed after a patient. However, when agent and patient are confused, the particles might not occur.

|                                  |                 |                  |                                   |                  |                    |                    |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| a <sup>33</sup> mə <sup>33</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> | ŋa <sup>31</sup> | ŋa <sup>33</sup> sə <sup>31</sup> | pi <sup>31</sup> | tshə <sup>31</sup> | la <sup>33</sup> . |
| mother                           | AGT             | 1SG-me           | banana                            | CAUS-giving      | eat                | PRT                |



|   |                 |                  |                                    |                  |                   |                   |
|---|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Mother gave me bananas to eat.          |                 |                  |                                    |                  |                   |                   |
| a <sup>33</sup> zau <sup>53</sup>       | ə <sup>33</sup> | ŋa <sup>31</sup> | tɕa <sup>33</sup> kə <sup>31</sup> | pi <sup>31</sup> | tsə <sup>31</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> . |
| elder-brother                           | AGT             | 1SL.ACC-me       | medicine                           | CAUS-giving      | eat               | PRT               |
| Elder brother gave me medicine to take. |                 |                  |                                    |                  |                   |                   |

Locative particle a<sup>33</sup> follows after a location:

|   |                                   |  |                     |  |                   |                     |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------|--|-------------------|---------------------|
| ŋə <sup>31</sup>                        | zə <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>31</sup> | a <sup>33</sup> ŋə <sup>33</sup> təu <sup>31</sup> | tso <sup>55</sup>   | a <sup>33</sup>  | tɕo <sup>55</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> .   |
| 1SG.GEN-my                              | child                             | alone  | home                | LOC  | stay              | PRT                 |
| My child is at home alone.              |                                   |  |                     |  |                   |                     |
| lo <sup>55</sup> tshi <sup>53</sup>     | a <sup>33</sup>                   | ŋə <sup>31</sup> tə <sup>33</sup>                  | tɕo <sup>55</sup> , | pi <sup>31</sup> tɕha <sup>31</sup> no <sup>33</sup> pju <sup>55</sup> | li <sup>31</sup>  | tɕo <sup>55</sup> . |
| river                                   | LOC                               | fish   | exist               | Dai-grasshopper  | also              | exist               |
| There are fish and shrimp in the river. |                                   |  |                     |  |                   |                     |

Progressive Particles y<sup>55</sup>, y<sup>55</sup>ə<sup>33</sup>, ə<sup>33</sup> indicate an action is in progress:

|  |                                     |                   |                                   |                   |                   |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| ŋə <sup>55</sup>                                   | ŋə <sup>31</sup>                    | tsə <sup>31</sup> | y <sup>55</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> . |                   |                   |
| 1SL  | dinner                              | eat               | PRT                               |                   |                   |
| I am having dinner.                                |                                     |                   |                                   |                   |                   |
| ŋə <sup>31</sup> ə <sup>33</sup>                   | khə <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>33</sup>  | ŋə <sup>31</sup>  | mə <sup>31</sup>                  | tsə <sup>31</sup> | y <sup>55</sup> . |
| 1SL.GEN-my   | wife                                | meal              | NEG-not                           | eat               | PRT               |
| My wife is not having meal.                        |                                     |                   |                                   |                   |                   |
| a <sup>31</sup> ŋəm <sup>31</sup> zə <sup>31</sup> | kho <sup>31</sup> pha <sup>31</sup> | u <sup>55</sup>   | ə <sup>33</sup> .                 |                   |                   |
| 3PL-they   | vegetable                           | buy               | DU.PRT                            |                   |                   |
| They are buying vegetables.                        |                                     |                   |                                   |                   |                   |

## 3.2 Cognate Words

Lexically, Cosao is an isolate language related to the languages of the Yi-Burmese language group<sup>3</sup> of Tibeto-Burman language family, such as Hani, Jinuo, Sadu,<sup>4</sup> Yi, Lisu, Lahu, Naxi, Nu<sup>5</sup>. Many cognate words are found in its vocabulary. Here are some cognate words as follows:

| Cosao                              | Hani               | Jinuo              | Yi                 | Lisu               | Lahu               | Naxi                | NU                 | Sadu               | English |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|
| tɕha <sup>53</sup>                 | tɕa <sup>31</sup>  | tʃha <sup>55</sup> | tɕo <sup>55</sup>  | tɕa <sup>55</sup>  | tɕa <sup>35</sup>  | tɕo <sup>55</sup>   | dza <sup>53</sup>  | tɕa <sup>42</sup>  | cock    |
| pa <sup>55</sup>                   | bjo <sup>55</sup>  | plɛ <sup>31</sup>  | dzi <sup>33</sup>  | bɛ <sup>33</sup>   | po <sup>31</sup>   | mbi <sup>31</sup>   | bia <sup>33</sup>  | bɛ <sup>21</sup>   | fly     |
| tshai <sup>53</sup>                | tshi <sup>31</sup> | tshɿ <sup>44</sup> | tshɿ <sup>33</sup> | tshɿ <sup>31</sup> | tshɿ <sup>53</sup> | tshor <sup>33</sup> | tshɿ <sup>55</sup> | tshɿ <sup>33</sup> | wash    |
| tɕa <sup>33</sup> la <sup>33</sup> | dza <sup>33</sup>  | tɕa <sup>31</sup>  | ndzo <sup>33</sup> | dze <sup>33</sup>  | dza <sup>53</sup>  | ndə <sup>33</sup>   | dza <sup>53</sup>  | dza <sup>55</sup>  | drop    |

<sup>3</sup> Yi, Hani, Lisu, Lahu, Naxi, Nu, Jinuo data have been cited from. Tibeto-Burman Language Phonology and Word List. Beijing. China Social Sciences Press. Our sincere thanks to those authors who have contributed to linguistics society.

<sup>4</sup> Sadu words are quoted from Studies on the Sadu Language. Beijing. Nationalities Press.

<sup>5</sup> Cognate World List has been cited from Sino-Tibetan Language Researches. Beijing. Beijing University Press.

|   |                                    |                                     |                                  |                                  |                                  |                    |                                     |                    |              |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| tsə <sup>31</sup>                       | dza <sup>31</sup>                  | tsə <sup>44</sup>                   | dzur <sup>33</sup>               | dza <sup>31</sup>                | tʂa <sup>51</sup>                | ndzɿ <sup>33</sup> | dza <sup>55</sup>                   | dzo <sup>33</sup>  | eat          |
| i <sup>31</sup> thi <sup>53</sup>       | ʒu <sup>31</sup>                   | ji <sup>44</sup>                    | i <sup>55</sup>                  | e <sup>31</sup> ta <sup>55</sup> | zɿ <sup>21</sup>                 | ʒi <sup>55</sup>   | iɔ <sup>53</sup> ɔ <sup>31</sup>    | zə <sup>42</sup>   | sleep        |
| mɔm <sup>31</sup>                       | mo <sup>31</sup>                   | kha <sup>42</sup>                   | mo <sup>31</sup>                 | mo <sup>31</sup>                 | mɔ <sup>53</sup>                 | mo <sup>55</sup>   | muw <sup>55</sup>                   | mo <sup>313</sup>  | old          |
| na <sup>33</sup>                        | na <sup>33</sup>                   | a <sup>33</sup> na <sup>42</sup>    | a <sup>44</sup> no <sup>33</sup> | nɛ <sup>44</sup>                 | na <sup>54</sup>                 | na <sup>31</sup>   | na <sup>35</sup> na <sup>53</sup>   | na <sup>55</sup>   | black        |
| tɕho <sup>31</sup>                      | ga <sup>33</sup>                   | tʃho <sup>55</sup>                  | ŋgo <sup>33</sup>                | dze <sup>33</sup>                | ka <sup>53</sup>                 | tɕhi <sup>55</sup> | ga <sup>53</sup>                    | dza <sup>55</sup>  | cold         |
| tɕhi <sup>55</sup>                      | tɕhu <sup>55</sup>                 | a <sup>33</sup> tʃhi <sup>33</sup>  | tɕhɿ <sup>33</sup>               | tʃhɿ <sup>33</sup>               | tshɔ <sup>33</sup>               | tɕhi <sup>55</sup> | ga <sup>53</sup>                    | tshɿ <sup>21</sup> | sweet        |
| tɕho <sup>55</sup>                      | tɕhe <sup>55</sup>                 | a <sup>33</sup> tʃhuw <sup>33</sup> | tɕi <sup>33</sup>                | tɕur <sup>33</sup>               | tsi <sup>33</sup>                | tɕi <sup>31</sup>  | tɕɿ <sup>33</sup>                   | tsi <sup>33</sup>  | sour         |
| tɕha <sup>53</sup>                      | tɕa <sup>31</sup>                  | tʃha <sup>55</sup>                  | tɕo <sup>55</sup>                | tɕa <sup>55</sup>                | tʂa <sup>35</sup>                | tɕo <sup>55</sup>  | dza <sup>53</sup>                   | tʂa <sup>42</sup>  | cock         |
| mɛ <sup>53</sup>                        | mɛ <sup>31</sup>                   | mɛ <sup>44</sup>                    | mi <sup>55</sup>                 | muw <sup>41</sup>                | mə <sup>11</sup>                 | zu <sup>31</sup>   | muɔɿ <sup>53</sup>                  | mi <sup>42</sup>   | hung<br>ry   |
| phi <sup>31</sup> thu <sup>55</sup>     | thu <sup>55</sup>                  | a <sup>33</sup> thu <sup>55</sup>   | a <sup>33</sup> tu <sup>33</sup> | thu <sup>33</sup>                | thu <sup>33</sup>                | la <sup>55</sup>   | thu <sup>33</sup>                   | thu <sup>21</sup>  | thick        |
| pə <sup>31</sup>                        | ba <sup>31</sup>                   | a <sup>33</sup> pə <sup>33</sup>    | i <sup>33</sup> bo <sup>33</sup> | ba <sup>31</sup>                 | pa <sup>53</sup>                 | mbe <sup>33</sup>  | ba <sup>53</sup>                    | bo <sup>33</sup>   | thin         |
| ŋje <sup>53</sup>                       | ni <sup>31</sup>                   | ni <sup>55</sup>                    | ni <sup>31</sup>                 | ni <sup>31</sup>                 | ni <sup>53</sup>                 | ni <sup>31</sup>   | ni <sup>31</sup>                    | ni <sup>21</sup>   | two          |
| ŋə <sup>31</sup>                        | ŋa <sup>31</sup>                   | ŋɔ <sup>33</sup>                    | ŋu <sup>33</sup>                 | ŋua <sup>31</sup>                | ŋa <sup>53</sup>                 | ua <sup>33</sup>   | ŋa <sup>55</sup>                    | ŋo <sup>33</sup>   | five         |
| e <sup>31</sup>                         | ɕe <sup>31</sup>                   | xɛ <sup>44</sup>                    | hi <sup>55</sup>                 | he <sup>41</sup>                 | xɛ <sup>35</sup>                 | xo <sup>55</sup>   | ʂaɿ <sup>53</sup>                   | xɛ <sup>42</sup>   | eight        |
| ky <sup>31</sup>                        | ɣə <sup>31</sup>                   | tɕy <sup>33</sup>                   | gu <sup>33</sup>                 | ku <sup>44</sup>                 | qɔ <sup>53</sup>                 | ŋgv <sup>33</sup>  | guw <sup>35</sup>                   | guw <sup>33</sup>  | nine         |
| khu <sup>31</sup>                       | khu <sup>31</sup>                  | khu <sup>44</sup>                   | khi <sup>55</sup>                | kho <sup>31</sup>                | ko <sup>33</sup>                 | khuw <sup>55</sup> | khu <sup>55</sup>                   | khə <sup>42</sup>  | fill         |
| mɔ <sup>55</sup> kh<br>ur <sup>53</sup> | a <sup>31</sup> khur <sup>31</sup> | khur <sup>33</sup> jo <sup>33</sup> | khu <sup>33</sup>                | khu <sup>31</sup>                | phu <sup>53</sup>                | khu <sup>33</sup>  | khui <sup>55</sup>                  | khui <sup>33</sup> | dog          |
| tse <sup>31</sup>                       | dzo <sup>55</sup>                  | tsə <sup>55</sup>                   | dzi <sup>31</sup>                | dze <sup>33</sup>                | tse <sup>33</sup>                | dzi <sup>33</sup>  | dza <sup>31</sup>                   | dza <sup>21</sup>  | pair         |
| tshə <sup>53</sup>                      | tsɿ <sup>31</sup>                  | to <sup>33</sup>                    | tsɿ <sup>55</sup>                | tho <sup>33</sup>                | tsɿ <sup>53</sup>                | tʂəɿ <sup>55</sup> | tsɿ <sup>53</sup>                   | tsɿ <sup>42</sup>  | joint        |
| ŋɔ <sup>55</sup>                        | ŋa <sup>55</sup>                   | ŋɔ <sup>31</sup>                    | ŋa <sup>33</sup>                 | ŋua <sup>33</sup>                | ŋa <sup>31</sup>                 | ŋə <sup>31</sup>   | ŋa <sup>33</sup>                    | ŋo <sup>21</sup>   | I            |
| nɛ <sup>55</sup>                        | no <sup>55</sup>                   | nɛ <sup>31</sup>                    | nuw <sup>33</sup>                | nu <sup>33</sup>                 | nɔ <sup>31</sup>                 | nu <sup>31</sup>   | nu <sup>55</sup>                    | nə <sup>21</sup>   | you          |
| mə <sup>31</sup>                        | ma <sup>31</sup>                   | mɔ <sup>33</sup>                    | a <sup>31</sup>                  | ma <sup>31</sup>                 | ma <sup>53</sup>                 | mə <sup>33</sup>   | ma <sup>55</sup>                    | ma <sup>21</sup>   | not          |
| thə <sup>31</sup>                       | tha <sup>31</sup>                  | thɛ <sup>33</sup>                   | tha <sup>31</sup>                | thə <sup>31</sup>                | tʂa <sup>53</sup>                | tha <sup>31</sup>  | tha <sup>55</sup>                   | ta <sup>42</sup>   | don't        |
| tu <sup>53</sup>                        | du <sup>31</sup>                   | tu <sup>33</sup>                    | ndu <sup>33</sup>                | tɕhu <sup>55</sup>               | du <sup>53</sup>                 | ndv <sup>33</sup>  | du <sup>55</sup>                    | kə <sup>42</sup>   | dig          |
| xi <sup>55</sup> phju <sup>55</sup>     | se <sup>55</sup>                   | ʂaɿ <sup>55</sup>                   | ʂu <sup>33</sup>                 | xu <sup>33</sup>                 | se <sup>33</sup>                 | ʂo <sup>33</sup>   | ʂə <sup>55</sup>                    | se <sup>21</sup>   | louse        |
| pjə <sup>53</sup>                       | bja <sup>31</sup>                  | pjo <sup>33</sup>                   | dzi <sup>33</sup>                | bie <sup>31</sup>                | pɛ <sup>53</sup>                 | mba <sup>33</sup>  | bia <sup>55</sup>                   | bjo <sup>55</sup>  | bees         |
| a <sup>33</sup>                         | a <sup>31</sup> xa <sup>33</sup>   | ja <sup>42</sup>                    | va <sup>33</sup>                 | a <sup>55</sup> ɣa <sup>55</sup> | ɣa <sup>54</sup>                 | æ <sup>31</sup>    | ɿɿ <sup>53</sup>                    | ɣa <sup>55</sup>   | chicken      |
| ko <sup>31</sup> ke <sup>31</sup>       | a <sup>31</sup> ɣo <sup>31</sup>   | a <sup>33</sup> tɕə <sup>55</sup>   | zi <sup>55</sup>                 | ɣo <sup>41</sup>                 | ɣo <sup>11</sup>                 | ko <sup>31</sup>   | ɣa <sup>53</sup>                    | ɣə <sup>21</sup>   | needle       |
| min <sup>31</sup> tsə <sup>31</sup>     | mi <sup>31</sup> kho <sup>31</sup> | mi <sup>33</sup> tsə <sup>33</sup>  | sɿ <sup>33</sup>                 | sɿ <sup>35</sup>                 | sɿ <sup>53</sup>                 | səɿ <sup>33</sup>  | si <sup>53</sup>                    | ɕi <sup>55</sup>   | fire<br>wood |
| mjɔm <sup>53</sup>                      | mo <sup>31</sup>                   | mjo <sup>33</sup>                   | mu <sup>33</sup>                 | a <sup>55</sup> mo <sup>53</sup> | i <sup>35</sup> mu <sup>53</sup> | zoa <sup>33</sup>  | mjuw <sup>31</sup> la <sup>55</sup> | mu <sup>33</sup>   | horse        |

|  |   |   |  |  |   |  |                                     |                    |                 |
|--|---|---|--|--|---|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| ɕi <sup>31</sup>                                     | sɿ <sup>31</sup>                        | a <sup>33</sup> ɕi <sup>44</sup>        | sɿ <sup>33</sup>                       | sɿ <sup>31</sup>                       | sɿ <sup>31</sup>                                      | sæ <sup>33</sup>                       | sui <sup>55</sup>                   | sɿ <sup>33</sup>   | blood           |
| a <sup>31</sup> u <sup>55</sup>                      | u <sup>55</sup>                         | a <sup>33</sup> vu <sup>33</sup>        | vu <sup>33</sup>                       | vu <sup>33</sup>                       | ɔ <sup>31</sup> yu <sup>31</sup>                      | bv <sup>33</sup>                       | u <sup>35</sup> a <sup>55</sup>     | u <sup>21</sup>    | intestine<br>s  |
| zə <sup>31</sup> zə <sup>33</sup>                    | za <sup>31</sup><br>zə <sup>33</sup>    | zə <sup>33</sup> ku <sup>33</sup>       | zu <sup>33</sup>                       | za <sup>31</sup>                       | ɔ <sup>31</sup> zA <sup>53</sup> p<br>A <sup>11</sup> | zə <sup>33</sup>                       | za <sup>55</sup>                    | zə <sup>33</sup>   | son             |
| va <sup>31</sup>                                     | a <sup>31</sup> ɣa <sup>31</sup>        | va <sup>44</sup> ni <sup>44</sup>       | vo <sup>55</sup>                       | a <sup>55</sup> vɛ <sup>41</sup>       | va <sup>21</sup>                                      | bu <sup>31</sup>                       | vq <sup>53</sup>                    | va <sup>42</sup>   | pig             |
| phi <sup>31</sup> khi <sup>55</sup>                  | phi <sup>31</sup> kh<br>u <sup>55</sup> | a <sup>33</sup> phe <sup>33</sup>       | tɕɿ <sup>33</sup>                      | tɕɿ <sup>44</sup>                      | ɔ <sup>31</sup> kə <sup>55</sup>                      | ku <sup>33</sup>                       | kɿə <sup>33</sup>                   | tɕi <sup>33</sup>  | gallblad<br>der |
| tshy <sup>31</sup> m<br>ɛ <sup>33</sup>              | a <sup>31</sup> tsi <sup>31</sup>       | tɕhi <sup>44</sup> pɛ <sup>4</sup><br>3 | tʂhɿ <sup>55</sup>                     | a <sup>55</sup> tʂhɿ <sup>41</sup>     | A <sup>35</sup> tshe <sup>2</sup><br>1                | tshu <sup>55</sup>                     | tʂhəɿ <sup>55</sup>                 | tshə <sup>42</sup> | goat            |
| khi <sup>55</sup> the <sup>33</sup>                  | la <sup>31</sup> tshə <sup>3</sup><br>1 | la <sup>33</sup> tshə <sup>3</sup><br>3 | ɬa <sup>55</sup>                       | lu <sup>55</sup> the <sup>3</sup><br>3 | xA <sup>31</sup> thə <sup>3</sup><br>3                | le <sup>33</sup>                       | ɬa <sup>55</sup>                    | lo <sup>313</sup>  | trousers        |
| ne <sup>31</sup> khu <sup>5</sup><br>3               | ɔ <sup>31</sup>                         | tshu <sup>44</sup> n<br>a <sup>42</sup> | mo <sup>33</sup> m <sup>33</sup>       | mo <sup>31</sup> kua <sup>44</sup>     | mu <sup>53</sup> nə <sup>3</sup><br>3m <sup>33</sup>  | mu <sup>33</sup>                       | mu <sup>55</sup>                    | mu <sup>33</sup>   | sky             |
| mi <sup>55</sup> nə <sup>53</sup><br>m <sup>53</sup> | nu <sup>31</sup> ni <sup>55</sup>       | mɛ <sup>42</sup> nə <sup>3</sup><br>3   | nə <sup>33</sup> ni <sup>33</sup>      | a <sup>55</sup> ni <sup>33</sup>       | nu <sup>53</sup>                                      | nə <sup>31</sup> yu <sup>3</sup><br>3  | nə <sup>55</sup>                    | ni <sup>33</sup>   | caw             |
| mja <sup>33</sup> su <sup>53</sup>                   | mja <sup>33</sup>                       | mja <sup>42</sup> tsi <sup>4</sup><br>4 | nə <sup>33</sup> dzɿ <sup>3</sup><br>3 | miɛ <sup>44</sup> su <sup>31</sup>     | mɛ <sup>54</sup> si <sup>11</sup><br>3                | miə <sup>31</sup> ly <sup>3</sup><br>3 | miə <sup>53</sup> dzi <sup>31</sup> | mja <sup>55</sup>  | eye             |
| həu <sup>31</sup> zu <sup>5</sup><br>5               | xə <sup>31</sup>                        | tɕhə <sup>33</sup>                      | khu <sup>33</sup>                      | khu <sup>31</sup>                      | qho <sup>53</sup>                                     | khu <sup>33</sup>                      | khū <sup>55</sup>                   | khū <sup>33</sup>  | steal           |

### 3.3 Sound Correspondences

From the data, Cosao sound correspondences to the related languages is very obvious which demonstrates that Cosao is in the Yi-Burmese branch. It is likely that Cosao nasal consonants correspond to the other compared languages above, for example the word “ŋə<sup>55</sup> I” and “ŋə<sup>31</sup> five”, its initial consonant corresponds to the rests : ŋ ~ ŋ, no exception. “nə<sup>33</sup> black” and “nə<sup>55</sup> you ”, its initial consonant corresponds to its counterparts: n ~ n. “mɛ<sup>53</sup> hungry” and “mə<sup>31</sup> not”, its initial consonant corresponds to the comparisons: m ~ m. While “məm<sup>31</sup>old ”, its initial consonant corresponds all but only one exception of Jinuo: m ~ kh.

Two negative forms, “mə<sup>31</sup>/ma<sup>31</sup> not ” and “thə<sup>31</sup>/ tha<sup>31</sup> don’t” in Cosao agrees to: m~m, th~th.

Other stop consonants, such as “khu<sup>31</sup> fill ” and “-khu<sup>53</sup> dog ”, its consonant agrees the counterpart: kh ~ kh. “ky<sup>31</sup> nine ” and “ko<sup>31</sup>- needle ” corresponds: k ~ y/tɕ/g/z/k/q/ŋg, points and manners of articulation are almost the same.

Affricate consonants show the most consistent evolution rules, such as “ɕi<sup>31</sup> blood ” corresponds to: ɕ ~ ɕ/s, “zə<sup>31</sup>- son” consistent to: z ~ z, “tsə<sup>31</sup> eat”

corresponds to: ts ∼ ts/dz/ndz.

As for these palatalized consonants, they show more complicated patterns of sound changes. For instance, “mja<sup>33</sup>- eyes” : mj ∼ mj/ɲ/mi, “pjə<sup>53</sup> bees”: pj ∼ bj/pj/dz/mb/p/bi. However, they display more closely correspondences to some of the languages discussed in this paper. Here are some more cognate words and their palatalized consonants correspondences in Cosao and Hani.

|                                       |   |                                      |                     |
|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Cosao                                 | ∼ | Hani                                 |                     |
| pja <sup>33</sup>                     | ∼ | bje <sup>33</sup>                    | to open eyes        |
| open-eye                              |   | open-eye                             |                     |
| po <sup>33</sup> pja <sup>55</sup>    | ∼ | bja <sup>33</sup>                    | break               |
| open-break                            |   | break                                |                     |
| pjə <sup>31</sup> tɕhi <sup>55</sup>  | ∼ | bja <sup>31</sup> tɕhu <sup>55</sup> | honey               |
| bee-sweet                             |   | bee-sweet                            |                     |
| pjə <sup>31</sup> xəm <sup>31</sup>   | ∼ | bja <sup>31</sup> sə <sup>31</sup>   | beewax              |
| honey-waste                           |   | honey-waste                          |                     |
| ɲa <sup>33</sup> pja <sup>31</sup>    | ∼ | a <sup>55</sup> bja <sup>31</sup>    | banana flower petal |
| banana-petal                          |   | banana-petal                         |                     |
| pjə <sup>55</sup> pjə <sup>55</sup>   | ∼ | bjo <sup>55</sup> bjo <sup>55</sup>  | To have pus.        |
| pustopus                              |   | pustopus                             |                     |
| ə <sup>31</sup> phjə <sup>31</sup>    | ∼ | sa <sup>31</sup> phja <sup>31</sup>  | thigh               |
| PREF-thigh                            |   | flesh-thigh                          |                     |
| tsha <sup>55</sup> phje <sup>53</sup> | ∼ | tshə <sup>55</sup> pjə <sup>53</sup> | braid               |
| hair-braid                            |   | hair-braid                           |                     |
| əm <sup>31</sup> mje <sup>33</sup>    | ∼ | ɔ <sup>31</sup> mjo <sup>31</sup>    | thunder             |
| sky-lighten                           |   | sky-lighten                          |                     |
| mja <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>55</sup>    | ∼ | mja <sup>33</sup> bi <sup>55</sup>   | tears               |
| eye-tear                              |   | eye-tear                             |                     |
| və <sup>31</sup> mja <sup>33</sup>    | ∼ | xa <sup>31</sup> mja <sup>33</sup>   | bamboo joint        |
| bamboo-eye                            |   | bamboo-eye                           |                     |
| su <sup>31</sup> mja <sup>33</sup>    | ∼ | so <sup>31</sup> mja <sup>33</sup>   | tree-wart           |
| tree-eye                              |   | tree-eye                             |                     |
| mje <sup>31</sup> tshy <sup>33</sup>  | ∼ | kə <sup>33</sup> mja <sup>31</sup>   | arrow               |
| arrow-point                           |   | bow-arrow                            |                     |
| khə <sup>55</sup> mje <sup>53</sup>   | ∼ | xa <sup>55</sup> mja <sup>31</sup>   | many                |
| how-many                              |   | how-many                             |                     |
| mjo <sup>53</sup>                     | ∼ | mje <sup>31</sup>                    | lick                |
| lick                                  |   | lick                                 |                     |

|  |   |  |                |
|--|---|--|----------------|
| mjom <sup>53</sup>   | ~ | mje <sup>31</sup> tho <sup>33</sup>                                  | swallow down   |
| swallow  |   | swallow into   |                |
| a <sup>31</sup> mje <sup>33</sup> mə <sup>31</sup> mje <sup>33</sup> | ~ | ɔ <sup>31</sup> mja <sup>33</sup> ma <sup>31</sup> mja <sup>33</sup> | not to be late |
| PREF-late not late   |   | sky-late not lat   |                |

## IV. Syntax

Syntactically Cosao is an SOV language. However in some cases, a verb is not present in a sentence, which might be an SN sentence, OV or an SV sentence. Syntax examples<sup>6</sup> are given in the following:

### 4.1 SN Sentences

|                                     |   |                     |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| i <sup>31</sup>                     | khi <sup>31</sup> thu <sup>33</sup> .                                     |                     |
| DEM.SG-this                         | PRED-stool  |                     |
| This is a stool.                    |   |                     |
| ŋɔ <sup>55</sup>                    | tsho <sup>55</sup> sɔ <sup>55</sup> tsho <sup>55</sup> zə <sup>31</sup> . |                     |
| 1SG.NOM-I                           | Cosao~people-offspring.   |                     |
| I am a Cosao person.                |   |                     |
| ŋə <sup>33</sup> yü <sup>53</sup>   | phə <sup>31</sup> zə <sup>31</sup>  | ŋje <sup>53</sup> . |
| 1PL-we                              | M-father.M-son  | DU-two              |
| We two are father and son relation. |   |                     |

### 4.2 SV Sentences

|                                   |                    |                  |                    |                    |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| ne <sup>55</sup>                  | tu <sup>31</sup> , | ŋɔ <sup>55</sup> | mə <sup>31</sup>   | tu <sup>31</sup> . |
| 2SG.NOM.AG                        | beat               | 1SG.NOM          | NEG-not            | beat               |
| You beat, I don't beat.           |                    |                  |                    |                    |
| a <sup>31</sup> ŋəm <sup>31</sup> | kho <sup>31</sup>  | ə <sup>33</sup>  | lɔ <sup>31</sup> . |                    |
| 3SG                               | speak              | PRT              | PRT                |                    |
| He has spoken already.            |                    |                  |                    |                    |

### 4.3 OV Sentences

|                                 |                 |                  |                  |                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| a <sup>31</sup> u <sup>53</sup> | a <sup>31</sup> | pi <sup>33</sup> | to <sup>53</sup> | ɛ <sup>33</sup> . |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|

<sup>6</sup> Annotation of the syntax examples are referred to The Leipzig Glossing Rules formatted May 31, 2015.

|                                       |                  |                                      |                                  |                   |                  |                   |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| uncle                                 | OBJ.PRT          | ACC.AUX-giving                       | wait                             | ACC.PRT           |                  |                   |
| Let uncle wait.                       |                  |                                      |                                  |                   |                  |                   |
| ə <sup>31</sup> phy <sup>53</sup>     | a <sup>31</sup>  | phe <sup>55</sup> khau <sup>53</sup> | pi <sup>33</sup>                 | tsə <sup>31</sup> | ta <sup>31</sup> | ɛ <sup>33</sup> . |
| OBJ.AG-grandpa                        | OBJ.PRT          | OBJ-olive                            | ACC.AUX-giving                   | eat               | try              | ACC.PRT           |
| Let grandpa taste /eat olive.         |                  |                                      |                                  |                   |                  |                   |
| a <sup>31</sup> nəm <sup>31</sup>     | a <sup>31</sup>  | i <sup>55</sup>                      | a <sup>31</sup> ze <sup>33</sup> |                   |                  |                   |
| OBJ.AG-him                            | OBJ.PRT          | DEM-this                             | OBJ-flower                       |                   |                  |                   |
| pi <sup>33</sup>                      | ta <sup>53</sup> | ta <sup>31</sup>                     | ɛ <sup>33</sup> .                |                   |                  |                   |
| ACC.AUX-giving                        | look             | try                                  | ACC. PRT                         |                   |                  |                   |
| Let him look at this kind of flowers. |                  |                                      |                                  |                   |                  |                   |

## 4.4 VV/SVV Sentences

|                                |                    |                    |                      |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| ko <sup>33</sup>               | phje <sup>33</sup> | mə <sup>31</sup>   | phje <sup>33</sup> ? |
| OBJ-rice                       | cut                | NEG-not            | cut                  |
| Do you cut rice or not (cut)?  |                    |                    |                      |
| zu <sup>55</sup>               | mə <sup>31</sup>   | zu <sup>55</sup> ? |                      |
| want                           | NEG-not            | want               |                      |
| Do you want to take it or not? |                    |                    |                      |
| zu <sup>55</sup>               | ən <sup>31</sup> . |                    |                      |
| want                           | DET                |                    |                      |
| Yes, I do.                     |                    |                    |                      |
| mə <sup>31</sup>               | zu <sup>55</sup> . |                    |                      |
| NEG-not                        | want               |                    |                      |
| No, I don't.                   |                    |                    |                      |

|                            |                    |                  |                    |
|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| va <sup>31</sup>           | po <sup>31</sup>   | mə <sup>31</sup> | po <sup>31</sup> ? |
| SUJ.TOP-pig                | fat                | NEG-not          | fat                |
| Is the pig fat or not fat? |                    |                  |                    |
| po <sup>31</sup>           | ən <sup>31</sup> . |                  |                    |
| TOP-pig                    | PRT                |                  |                    |
| Yes, it is fat.            |                    |                  |                    |

## 4.5 SOV Sentences

|                                     |                                    |                  |                  |                    |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| a <sup>33</sup> tshai <sup>33</sup> | i <sup>55</sup> təhə <sup>53</sup> | pa <sup>53</sup> | zi <sup>55</sup> | lə <sup>31</sup> . |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|

|  |  |                                   |                    |                    |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| elder-sister                               | water  | carry                             | go                 | PRT                |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
| The elder sister went to carry water.      |  |                                   |                    |                    |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
| ŋə <sup>55</sup> yu <sup>33</sup>          | a <sup>31</sup> kja <sup>31</sup>                    | ʒu <sup>55</sup>                  | ky <sup>31</sup>   | lə <sup>33</sup> , | tso <sup>55</sup> | a <sup>31</sup> | ko <sup>31</sup> | li <sup>33</sup> | ə <sup>33</sup> . |
| 1PL-we                                     | stuff  | collect                           | PRT                | PRT                | home              | LOC             | back             | go               | PRT               |
| We collected the stuff and went back home. |  |                                   |                    |                    |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
| ti <sup>33</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>          | a <sup>33</sup>                                      | ŋə <sup>31</sup> tə <sup>55</sup> | tɕu <sup>55</sup>  | ə <sup>33</sup> .  |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
| field                                      | LOC  | fish                              | exist              | DU.PRT             |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
| In the fields, there are fish.             |  |                                   |                    |                    |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
| ŋə <sup>55</sup> yu <sup>33</sup>          | tsho <sup>55</sup> so <sup>55</sup> ma <sup>53</sup> | mə <sup>31</sup>                  | ŋu <sup>55</sup> . |                    |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
| 1PL-we                                     | Cosao-ethnic   | NEG-not                           | be                 |                    |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |
| We are not Cosao ethnic people.            |  |                                   |                    |                    |                   |                 |                  |                  |                   |

## 4.6 SOOV Sentences

|  |                   |                                   |                    |                   |                  |                    |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| ə <sup>31</sup> mə <sup>33</sup>                 | i <sup>33</sup>   | za <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>31</sup> | a <sup>31</sup>    |                   |                  |                    |
| SUBJ.AG-mom                                      | AGT               | OBJ.NOM-baby                      | PTPT               |                   |                  |                    |
| nəm <sup>33</sup>                                | pi <sup>31</sup>  | nəm <sup>33</sup>                 | ə <sup>33</sup> .  |                   |                  |                    |
| OBJ-milk   | ACC.AUX-giving    | V-milk                            | DU.PRT             |                   |                  |                    |
| Mom milks baby milk.                             |                   |                                   |                    |                   |                  |                    |
| a <sup>33</sup> pa <sup>53</sup>                 | i <sup>33</sup>   | su <sup>31</sup> la <sup>31</sup> |                    |                   |                  |                    |
| SUBJ.AG-brother                                  | AGT               | tree-branch                       | ACC.AUX-making     |                   |                  |                    |
| əŋ <sup>55</sup>                                 | khy <sup>33</sup> | ʒi <sup>55</sup>                  | lo <sup>31</sup> . |                   |                  |                    |
| break  | go-down           | PRT                               | PRT                |                   |                  |                    |
| It is my brother who made the tree-branch break. |                   |                                   |                    |                   |                  |                    |
| pu <sup>31</sup> na <sup>33</sup>                | e <sup>33</sup>   | lə <sup>31</sup>                  | a <sup>33</sup>    | thu <sup>33</sup> | ɕi <sup>53</sup> | lə <sup>33</sup> . |
| SUBJ.AG-buffalo                                  | AGT               | OBJ-tiger                         | PRT                | butt              | die              | PRF                |
| It is buffalo who butted the tiger to death.     |                   |                                   |                    |                   |                  |                    |

## V. Tentative Conclusion

In conclusion, the Cosao language is previously not well described. The above reported phonology, lexicon and syntax characteristics of Cosao demonstrates that it shares many common aspects with related languages such as Hani, Akha, Jinou, Yi, Lisu, Lahu, Naxi, Nu and Sadu of the Yi branch languages. But it has more features, such as more diphthongs, nasal final endings, and palatalized features which are far different from Yi branch languages. In addition it has also taken in more morphology constituents from Dai language therefore it might be considered as a language of the

Yi-Burmese branch languages, but not any lect of these mentioned languages even though they are affiliated with the Hani minority nationality identity.

An interesting linguistic phenomenon is found in Cosao where voiced consonant clusters bl-, pl-, phl-, ml- in the elders' speech developed into pj-, pj-, phj-, mj-. We wonder if it is a coincidence or due to similar processes that in the peripheral languages, like Hani, Yani, Jinuo and Sadu, there might have taken place such an evolution of their palatalized consonants. It surprises us that a phonological shift occurred so fast, in a few decades, if it is a definite rule. It remains to be verified.

It is of note that the Cosao language is facing serious endangerment for a couple of salient causes: very small population mixed with dominant language speaking people in the village and surrounded by dominant languages such as Chinese, Dai, and Hani. There is need of various efforts to help protect this venerable, but vulnerable language.

## Appendixes

### 1. Abbreviation

|              |                     |      |                                |
|--------------|---------------------|------|--------------------------------|
| Abbreviation | English             | LNK  | clause linker                  |
| 1sg          | 1st person singular | LOC  | location particle              |
| 2sg          | 2nd person singular | NMLZ | nominalizer                    |
| 3sg          | 3rd person singular | OBJ  | object                         |
| 1dl          | 1st person dual     | PRED | predicative                    |
| 2dl          | 2nd person dual     | PREF | prefix                         |
| 3dl          | 3rd person dual     | PRT  | clause/sentence final particle |
| 1pl          | 1st person plural   | PTPT | patient Particle               |
| 2pl          | 2nd person plural   | PRT  | particle                       |
| 3pl          | 3rd person plural   | PT   | Patient                        |
| ACCPT        | accusative Particle | QUES | question marker                |
| AG           | agent               | STPT | Structural Particle            |
| AGT          | agentive marker     | SUF  | suffix                         |
| ASP          | aspect marker       | SUJ  | subject                        |
| BEN          | benefactive marker  | TEPT | Temporal Particle              |
| CAUS         | causative marker    | TOP  | topic marker                   |
| DEM          | demonstrative       | TTA  | tentative Aspect               |
| DET          | determiner          | TTV  | tentative Verb                 |
| GEN          | genitive            | VEPT | verb Ending Particle           |
| IMP          | imperative marker   | VPT  | verb Particle                  |
| INST         | instrumental marker |      |                                |



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